

and Pindal. (See *New York Tribune*, March 10th, 1849.) "A more full and deliberate consideration of the subject," lays it down "as an indispensable condition of emancipation that the emancipated slaves should be removed from the State of South Carolina." "The colonization of the free blacks, as the only safe and permanent remedy for the negro, at the age entitling them to freedom, I consider a condition absolutely indispensable. Without it, I would be opposed to any scheme of emancipation." The expense of this "colonization," says Mr. Clay, "to be defrayed by the South to be paid from the labor of the slaves have?" The African Repository of April, 1849, says, let the North "show unto us a more excellent way," if they can.

"Every soul that has been born into this conviction that the negro people of color make no move in the right direction," *Annual Report of Maryland State Colonization Society, in African Repository*, July, 1846, p. 312.

W. McLain Secretary of the American Colonization Society, says, in *American Review* of January, 1849, "the presence of the various tribes of Indians in our midst was a great evil, which the Government was called upon to mitigate, and that a great national good was done by removing them from our borders—then surely is the existence of the colored race the greatest evil of the political, social, and their removal would be an immense national blessing. And if the Government had power to act in the one case, has it not the power to act in the other?" *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 3, 1849.

"Thus have I endeavored to redouble my promise to the great cause. More, I believe, would allow. I am aware that it is difficult to prepare such an article for publication, or have it published wholly free from errors. Some of the proofs will appear stronger than others, and they will not all be equally well arranged. Still it presents a mass of testimony, in addition to that already published in my first communication in your paper of July 6th, that will, if I mistake not, awaken very serious thoughts in the minds of all who have pledged, or may be induced to pledge, their support to the American Colonization Society, or any of its auxiliaries.

That the Society has done no good, I will not say; and it would be absurd to aver that the motives of all its founders and supporters have been wrong. That the colored race, the slaves, have, for selfish purposes, is capable of proof; that it is at war with the best interests of the slaves and free people of color in the United States, is conscientiously believed; that it is advocated in opposition to the principles of an enlightened civilization, of wisdom and virtue, and not of Christianity, cannot, one would think, be denied; that Colonizationists, generally, are decidedly opposed to the elevation of the people of color in this country, with a view to their remaining here, and often make no scruple to make it appear that they do, the colored people think they have abundant proof, who are almost unanimously opposed to the "scheme" root and branch.

Will it be said that the American Colonization Society is not responsible for all the opinions uttered by its auxiliaries or advocates? It is surely responsible for all that it publishes, without censure or exception, whether the author be its own selected orators, its approved friends, or its auxiliaries, their orators and friends. Will it be said that the Society has done no good, or in references, may be detected by some hypercritical eye, that therefore the main argument of this article is weakened? I trust that the general scope will be regarded, as the mass of proof looked to, and unintentional errors and defects candidly overlooked.

LEWIS TAPPAN,
Cor. Soc. Amer. and Foreign Anti-Slavery Soc.

THE NATIONAL ERA.
WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 13, 1849.

"The Editor of the Era having returned, intends to resume his editorial duties next week. He takes this opportunity of rendering thanks to the gentleman, a citizen of the South, who has so ably filled the editorial department during his absence.

Communications designed for publication will now receive due attention, and we shall try to bring up the uppers of our business correspondence as soon as possible.

We find on our table numerous favors from the Booksellers, which will soon be noticed in an appropriate manner.

"Our foreign correspondence, we are sure, will attract general attention. The account of the Peace Congress, written by one of the delegates to it, is highly interesting; and the "Historical Sketch of the Prussian Revolution," by "Oswald," the first chapter of which appears to day, is of great value.

"The articles in the Era this week, are valuable, but they are long, and several events of importance have no notice. The good-natured reader will find an apology for this in the absence of the editor. Next week, we hope, arrears will be brought up.

MRS. SOUTHWORTH'S STORY.

We have on hand the first chapter of Mrs. Southworth's promised story for the Era, but shall not commence the publication of it till the one she is now writing for an Eastern periodical is completed—an event not far off. Judging from the part in our possession, we infer that the story will more than fulfil the high expectations raised by her tale entitled *Retribution*. We are at liberty to add, that the principal characters are taken from life, and the main facts are true as history.

IRREGULARITIES OF THE MAIL.

We are daily receiving complaints from subscribers, of the failure or irregular reception of their papers. We assure them that the fault is not with us. There has been no change in the mailing department in our office. The cause of the irregularities is certainly to be found in the appointment of new postmasters, and the consequent changes of clerks.

SAMUEL LEWIS, one of the most prominent citizens of Cincinnati, writes to us that he has not received an Era for four weeks. Now, we know the fault is not our own. His name is legally written on our mail books, and stands just where it has stood for the last year.

From Boston, and from offices depending upon that as a distributing office, we hear constant complaints; but our mail books are constant, and the hands in our office engaged in mailing are the same. It is only within a short period that there has been cause for such complaints.

As the new postmasters grow familiar with their duties, we have no doubt the mischief will be remedied. Meantime, they should look to their clerks and subordinates, and, if they cannot or will not make out the directions on packages, supply their places with more competent ones.

THE HARTFORD REPUBLICAN is revived. We regret the withdrawal from the editorial chair of W. H. Burleigh, its excellent editor, who has labored long and earnestly in the Anti-Slavery cause. The paper will be henceforth published and edited by J. D. Baldwin, an old Library man, a member of the late Legislature of Connecticut, a man of talents, energy, and integrity.

LYNN PIONEER.—This paper, always distinguished by its boldness and independence, after its strong convulsions, has ceased to exist. Its sturdy editor, George Bradburn, was accustomed to speak what he thought, with great plainness and energy, giving himself no concern as to whom it might please or offend. We shall miss him.

THE CINCINNATI GLOBE has been merged in the CINCINNATI NEWS-LETTER, and both are now published by an Association of Printers, under the title of "The Evening News-LETTER and Herald." Stanley Matthews retires from the editorial chair, only to resume his pen, we hope, under more favorable auspices.

The editor of the Era established the Cincinnati Morning Herald, August, 1843, and continued it till December, 1848, when, being about to leave for Washington for the purpose of continuing the Era, he transferred it to H. H. Sweeny and Mr. Matthews. It was continued under the title of "Herald" till about a year ago, when it absorbed the Cincinnati Morning Signal, and thereupon assumed the name of Globe. At the close of the sixth year of its existence, it is itself

absorbed by the Nonpareil, which has the good taste to restore the old title, *Herald*, and the good sense to advocate Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men.

Mr. MATTHEWS has fairly won the reputation of a liberal, vigorous, and comprehensive thinker, and we learn with great pleasure that the Anti-Slavery cause in the West is, ere long, to have the benefit of his experience and abilities as an editor.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

In another column will be found a highly interesting, though not equally satisfactory, account of the condition and prospects of the emancipated colonies of Great Britain in the West Indies. The fact cannot be concealed that the annual exports of the islands has diminished since the act of emancipation took effect, and the circumstance, in the minds of a great many, outweighs every other consideration. Justice and philanthropy must go to the wall, with such reasoners, unless they are consistent with the largest profits. Slavery and the slave trade must be maintained, if they are essential to the prosperity of the planters. It is needless to say, that we dissent, *in toto*, from this reasoning. We believe that honesty is the best policy, but if the case were otherwise, still more should be honest. Emancipation should take place, regardless of temporary consequences.

But we have not admitted, and shall not admit, that Emancipation is a failure, even in its lowest aspect. We have stated that the exports of the colonies have diminished since the act of emancipation went into operation. But it is not necessary that the diminution has been falling off for nearly half a century. It has doubtless resulted from the impoverishment of the soil, by the system of slave cultivation—a system which has ruined Virginia and the Carolinas.

The following tables are from official sources against the prosperity of the British West Indies. The first has been universally assigned as the fruitful source of life to Ireland, viz: Abstinenza. The soil is, to a considerable extent, owned by persons residing in England, and the results of industry, instead of being expended at home, in the improvement of agriculture, or invested in other profitable modes, is squandered in a foreign land, where they can be of no service to the colonies. If the soil has inexcusable fertility, and there is a plentiful supply of cheap labor, the amount of exports may not be affected by Abstinenza; but it is evident that wealth cannot accumulate, under such circumstances, on the islands, however much it may do so in the hands of the distant proprietors. This is the bane of Ireland, and, to some extent, of the British West Indies. If the proprietors resided in the islands, and had the enterprise and intelligence to invest capital in improving their estates, in internal improvements, and in the manufacture of various coarse fabrics, there can be no doubt that prosperity would soon return and property rise. Even the expenditure of their incomes in extravagance would be beneficial to the colonies, and would revive trade and enterprise among the people.

The second cause which we assign for the stagnation of affairs in the West Indies is the fact that there is but one interest in society, viz: Agriculture. It is impossible that any community can grow great, and rich, and enlightened, without a diversity of occupations. "A mind of desirous man" requires every variety of pursuit, in order to give proper exercise to the faculties. Slavery is inconsistent with this diversity. Slave States or colonies must be mere plantations. Extraordinary fertility of soil, and genuity of climate, may keep up the system, but such countries can never be wealthy. Cuba is one of the most fertile spots in the globe; it enjoys, in common with a few other tropical countries, the monopoly of supplying Europe and America with articles which habit has made necessities of life; it has been settled for three centuries by the most wealthy class of European emigrants, who, at a low rate, have purchased and introduced into it a multitude of African slaves; yet Cuba bears no proportion, in point of wealth and power, to three or four of our States. New York was settled later, has a less fertile soil, produces no article of importance for exportation, and yet her wealth and resources, and power, are incomparably superior to those of Cuba. Little has been done for the improvement of Cuba by its inhabitants—natives have done all. And this is generally true of Slave States. Their accumulated wealth consists in slaves, and their system of tillage only serves to rob the soil of its virgin fertility. Virginians have admitted that the Old Dominion, in its present condition, is worth less than so much vacant territory would sell for, surrounded by a free and intelligent people. The inexcusable fertility of the Cuban soil may, in some degree, except it from this law of decline; but one thing is certain, the inhabitants have accumulated less wealth than the great natural resources of the island—than has been wrought out of the sterile soil and contracted territory of Massachusetts, where "the plough, the loom, and the anvil," were brought into juxtaposition. Slavery is incompatible with a diversity of occupations. It degrades and cheapens labor, and keeps the working classes in a state of ignorance. It requires a useless consumption or absorption of capital in the ownership of labor, which is far more efficient when free. This unnecessary absorption of capital leaves nothing for manufactures, for internal improvements, or for commerce; slavery swallows all, and eventually consumes the soil itself. The British Islands have lain aside the system of slavery, which was rapidly consuming their natural resources and society is now naturally seeking that diversity of pursuits, which is at once inseparable from a state of freedom, and essential to the welfare and happiness of a free people. That they have improved, and will continue to improve, moral and intellectually, there can be no doubt. The diminution of exports is no evidence to the contrary. It is stated, on reliable authority, that much of the existing demand for labor on the plantations has arisen, not so much from the aversion of the negroes to labor, as from their love of independence. They prefer the condition of independent farmers to that of day laborers; and many thousands of them have accumulated money enough to set up for themselves, in this way. Is this state of things to be deplored? Is it evidence of failure in the emancipation experiment? So much of exportable commodities is not produced, because the negroes are disposed to indulge themselves in a greater share of the necessities and comforts of life. Formerly, these necessities were cultivated in the few spare hours allowed them by their masters. Comforts were out of the question. No time, and perhaps little thought, was bestowed upon the cleanliness, rest, and convenience of their habitation. The planters provided for their necessities, as they would for those of other live stock, without spending a thought about their happiness. Such is slavery everywhere. The planters have been more numerous, the proportion of blacks to whites is more than three to two, except in a few localities. Our Southern States have some other advantages, natural and social, favorable to the success of Emancipation, in a higher degree than the British Islands. They have a colder climate, which is favorable to greater mental and physical energy in both races. No country is so situated as the negro race that the borders of the South Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, where the bulk of the slaves are to be found, while the uplands of the South are unsuited to the negroes; and are peculiarly adapted to the European race. Great Emancipation would not check the tendency of the negro to the north, where his labor would be demanded; and his place would be supplied in the northern tier of slave States by Northern and European emigrants. Emancipation without Colonization in the older and more northern slave States, by compelling the same policy further south, would be attended with the same result. This circum-

stance, even allowing that the negroes are an unsuceptible of improvement as the advocates of Slavery contend, would insure immediate and unprecedented prosperity in the Northern slave States, from which the blacks would without compensation be withdrawn, for no one doubts the facility of the Anglo-Saxon race to elevate Virginia to the first rank of States in a few years, if slavery were out of the way. And Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and North Carolina, would likewise rival the Northern States in riches, population, and power, under the magic influence of freedom.

We take it that whatever may have been the effect of emancipation upon the planters, its tendency has been greatly to improve the condition of the negroes, physically, morally, and mentally. This position is well established. Before emancipation, matrimony had no legal existence among the slaves, and even the nominal marriage, which might be severed at the caprice of the planter, was rare. But no sooner had the negroes become free, than they began to respect themselves too much to remain in that worse than savage social state, and marriage became general. Is this nothing? Will a man, calling himself a Christian or a gentleman, stand up and treat this first fruit of the negro's freedom by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating his mind or his affections. But in our country, without a more human purpose in view, scarcely a remove above that of their African antecedents. Slavery had tamed the ferocity of the negro by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating his mind or his affections. But in our country, without a more human purpose in view, scarcely a remove above that of their African antecedents. Slavery had tamed the ferocity of the negro by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating his mind or his affections. But in our country, without a more human purpose in view, scarcely a remove above that of their African antecedents. Slavery had tamed the ferocity of the negro by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating his mind or his affections.

Thomé and Kimball, which would naturally present the fairest aspect of the case, the condition of plantation negroes in the British Islands, when the act of Emancipation took place, was, in an intellectual point of view, scarcely a remove above that of their African antecedents. Slavery had tamed the ferocity of the negro by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating his mind or his affections. But in our country, without a more human purpose in view, scarcely a remove above that of their African antecedents. Slavery had tamed the ferocity of the negro by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating his mind or his affections. But in our country, without a more human purpose in view, scarcely a remove above that of their African antecedents. Slavery had tamed the ferocity of the negro by subduing his spirit, not by cultivating his mind or his affections.

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Bismarck, a nobleman who was honored with the abuse of all the blemishes of the Government, and who was at the time an admiring minister, was seated at the table when an address, signed forty pamphlets, and sustaining the views of the Opposition in the General Diet, every word was employed to induce the signers to retract. The majority of them were prevailed on to do so, by menaces and promises, and the King himself, to the rest, closing, however, with the assurance that, for this time, the King, in his royal clemency, would pardon them the crime of having had an opinion in political affairs.

These and many similar facts took place in the first two months of the year 1848. Religious difficulties and persecutions, for matters of belief were the order of the day. The Elbendorf ministry, menaced with the Inquisition, the oldest and most worthy of the existing, and school districts, were then converted, did not have time to square with the doctrines of the State religion. But the spirit of opposition increased as rapidly as the persecutions of Absolutism. In the army itself, the tendency of many companies and officers to the opposition was aided by the multiplied personal associations, and the nearly absolute establishment of the trials before the military tribunals awakened the people of Berlin from the apathy in which they had so long slumbered. Undefined wishes and hopes of the corruptions of the Government to the spirit of change were excited. These were well realized, and the how little was demanded at the time by the public expectation! The boldest would have been contented with the grant of a Biennial Diet. But when it was evident that the King would not respond to the demands of the people, and that the cause of peace in his Council at a time when new Constitutions, with annual Chambers, were granted at Naples and Copenhagen, that a sentiment of shame pervaded the nation.

The exposure in Silesia of the corruptions of the Government, and still further to excite the public mind. The necessity of the participation of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the necessity of a free press, as the exposure of the acts of the administration, by those who were its supporters of royalty. The public sentiment was so unequivocal, that the Absolutist organs did not dare to dignify it as the result of the manoeuvres of demagogues and the falsehoods of the "champions of progress." That the King, in the voice of the people is not surprising; he stoned his ears to the cry, and went obstinately on his way.

Antipathy to the existing system and its supporters was rapidly ripening into hatred, throughout all Prussia. All Germans shared in the feeling, for all Germans were born with hopeful expectation to the Prussian people. It saw in this system and its supporters the obstacles to the realization of its hopes for a free and united country, which could not be ushered into existence when Prussia should not itself be the rallying point of the advocates of Germanic Freedom and Unity.

Berlin, August 14, 1849.

LETTER FROM PARIS—CONGRESS OF PEACE.

PARIS, August 23, 1849.

To the Editor of the *National Era*:

It is impossible to send you many details of the "Congress of Peace" by this post, as it will leave before we are fairly in *medio res*. I can, however, give you the organization, and also some matters of interest, which, if the Congress had adjourned, I might not have found room for. The officers are as follows:

President—Victor Hugo.

Vice Presidents for France—M. Abbé Dugeny, of the Madeline; M. Pasteur Coquerel.

Vice Presidents for England—Richard Cobden, Esq. M. P.; Charles Hindley, Esq. M. P.

Vice Presidents for America—Hon. M. Durfee; Anna Walker, Esq.

Vice President for Belgium—Mr. Visschers, President of the Congress at Brussels.

Vice President for Germany—Dr. Carovia.

Secretaries for France—M. Joseph Garnier and Mr. Zeigler.

Secretary for England—Rev. Henry Richard, London.

Secretary for America—Elihu Burritt, Esq.

The place of meeting is the *Salle Sainte-Cécile*, an elegant room, about 200 feet in length and 100 feet wide, and with 1,500 people especially if they are peaceful. It is decorated with the flags of various nations, graciously interwoven, in token of the "good time coming." I write from it, at this time. I wish I could present the scene which is before me to your readers. Every seat is filled, and also the broad stairway leading to the gallery. The speaker of the instant is the eloquent Protestant pastor, M. Coquerel. He is speaking in French, and with such force, and evident sincerity, that even those of us who are unacquainted with that language are deeply impressed with the beauty of his sentiments. There is a spirit about his countenance, and majesty in his presence, which are singular attributes both of his honesty and good sense. As I am passing this sentence, he concludes a sentiment of fraternal regard towards his brethren in the Catholic church, whence the audience, English and French, bring their hands together like seals of marble."

Meanwhile he moves towards his seat, but, before he reaches it, turns, half way, by the curb of the Madeline church, who extends his right hand of friendship, which is at once taken, and loud and repeated plaudits. This little incident will give you an idea of the spirit of the meeting.

Among the speakers, yesterday, were Victor Hugo, Henry Vincent, President Mahan, Richard Cobden, and Rev. Mr. Burnet. The proceedings were characterized by great unanimity.

There was, at one time, of disturbance, on account of the appearance of the tribune of an orator, a son of a member of the house of commons (a Liberal), who it was thought, would be likely to vocate some system of Socialism; but this expectation was disappointed, by his indulging in a series of generalities which met with a reception all the more warm, because they took the most decided position, and those who had to speak with more or less caution, as the discussion of topics calculated to irritate the French people is forbidden. This, however, did not prevent a very explicit declaration, often repeated, of our most sacred principle. The *New York Times* expressed a desire that the same should be the practice of the Congress who would dislodge the struggling friends of Liberty throughout Europe. The intelligent editor of that paper would have a very different opinion if he had been there. The sentiments which came from such men as Girardin, Victor Hugo, François Guizot, M. Coquerel, Richard Cobden, and Rev. Mr. Burnet. The proceedings were characterized by great unanimity.

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But I can say more in the midst of this excitement. This very minute, Richard Cobden has the tribune. Every word he utters goes to the heart like a flash of light. He speaks in French. Distinctly we can understand it. It is worth hearing the orator at all times. He has such a fine, manly, thoughtful, mathematical look. When the audience applauds, he looks as if taken by a great surprise, and is anxious to have them stop their noise. I close my letter while he is in the tribune, and will add, that the Americans are asleep. E. Burritt, A. Walker, Mahan, W. W. Brown, Mr. Garrison, and Mr. Crummell, Cyrus Pierce, Dr. Allen, &c.

TAVENPORT.

PLAINFIELD, August 26, 1849.

M. EDITOR: Is not James B. Clark, the proprietor of *Plainfield's Advertiser* of the Kingdom of Portugal, and one of the respectable members who removed C. C. Clay, *Free Press* in Kentucky? Why was he not removed to France, to you, respectively? W. P. WILBURTON.

For the best of reasons: Mr. Clark's advocacy of Despotism in Europe has given him a peculiar claim upon the Despotism that controls the Government of this country.—Ed. *Era*.

VERMONT.—The *Baton d'Or* has returns of the vote for representatives in the Legislature of the State of Vermont, from 207 towns, leaving about 40 towns to be heard from. Thus, the thus far, is the result of 117 Whigs, 28 Democrats, and 54 Free-Soilers. The same towns last year returned 92 Whigs 37 Democrats, and 60 Free-Soilers. The net Whig gain in that branch

of the Legislature is, therefore, 46 members or the 51 members composing the Senate, 22 to 17 Whigs. The popular vote for Governor in 172 towns shows a Whig gain, as compared with last year, of 5,221.

From the New York *Courier* and *Enquirer*.

THE WEST INDIES.

Authentic intelligence respecting the present state of the British and French Colonies, and especially information relating to the workings of Emancipation, must be generally interesting to the People of this country. Having recently received a file of Jamaica newspapers up to the present month, we have gleaned from them many valuable matter, which we take pleasure in laying.

The *West India* says: "Some days in this month (April) have been very favorable for the marketing of sugar and rum exported from British Guiana in 1848 exceeds the quantity exported in any previous year since 1839, (that year was 1847 excepted, when the export of sugar was in 17,000,000 lbs.)—The Morning Journal, *Jamaica*, May 29, 1848.

The *Barbados* newspaper says: "It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that at the very period of the export of one's exports and import duties when he has been in contact with Congress of American produce, while at the same time, a considerable proportion of sugar, &c., is weekly exported."

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The 24th of May, 1848, a meeting of inhabitants of all the parts of the Island of Jamaica was held at Spanish Town, for the purpose of considering the effects produced by the new measures for the abolition of the slave. The slaves, by which Spain and Brazil are bound. It was the largest and most remarkable meeting ever witnessed on the island. The lord bishop presided. In opening the proceedings, he said:

"It must, I think, be readily admitted, that the great and most popular will under the Government of the United States, and the colonies, and school districts, are the converts, and have had to square with the doctrines of the State religion. But the spirit of opposition increased as rapidly as the persecutions of Absolutism. In the army itself, the tendency of many companies and officers to the opposition was aided by the multiplied personal associations, and the nearly absolute establishment of the trials before the military tribunals awakened the people of Berlin from the apathy in which they had so long slumbered. Undefined wishes and hopes of concessions by the Government to the spirit of change were excited. These were well realized, and the how little was demanded at the time by the public expectation! The boldest would have been contented with the grant of a Biennial Diet. But when it was evident that the King would not respond to the demands of the people, and that the cause of peace in his Council at a time when new Constitutions, with annual Chambers, were granted at Naples and Copenhagen, that a sentiment of shame pervaded the nation.

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Berlin, August 14, 1849.

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